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## ABSTRACT

This report looks at the past two decades and the impact of the growth of Hispanic and Asian populations and how they are being affected by school segregation, desegregation, and resegregation. School segregation of Hispanics has increased dramatically during a period in which the nation's Hispanic enrollment has also soared. Segregation has also grown slowly and steadily for blacks in the inner cities that have been desegregated under policies that left the suburbs unchanged. Data demonstrate that Hispanics are now significantly more segregated than Blacks. In spite of increased segregation in some cities, statistics for blacks across the United States show that the widely expected increase of segregation during the Reagan years did not occur either on a national basis or in the South where most blacks live. Reagan administration policies had no overall effect on the integration of southern black students by 1988. Data in this report do not reflect the impact of recent and pending court decisions that may affect urban school desegregation. A modest increase in the nation's residential desegregation, driven by a large increase in Black and Hispanic suburbanization, has helped offset the resegregation caused by the continuing decline of white residents in central city school systems. Twenty years of data on the 17 states that enforced mandatory segregation until 1954 show that the school desegregation accomplishments of the 1960s and the early 1970s were neither fragile nor transient. Different forms of desegregation plans have different effects on the level and persistence of desegregation and on the ability of a school district to retain white enrollment. Data in this report show that county-wide desegregation plans that include both city and suburbs are more effective on both fronts. There is no evidence that the problem of school segregation will go away, however, and a new definition of segregation will probably be needed as racial composition and suburban desegregation change. An appendix presents trends in school segregation and a chart of extreme segregation. (Contains 21 tables.) (SLD)

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**STATUS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:  
THE NEXT GENERATION**

Report to the  
National School Boards Association

Gary Orfield and Franklin Monfort

with the assistance of  
Anita Stoll  
Rafael Heller

Metropolitan Opportunity Project  
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## PREFACE

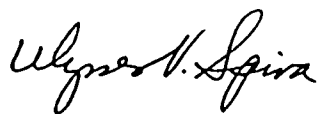
The 1990s are continuing to be a decade of change just like the preceding one. America is undergoing demographic and economic changes that are affecting the mood of the population and how the nation perceives social and domestic issues. All of these changes are reflected in the composition of the student population in our public schools. The policies and laws of past decades are now undergoing close scrutiny by the nation's legislators and judicial leaders and the impact of any changes will be reflected in every community and neighborhood across the country. Trends in school desegregation and integration is one such policy arena.

The notion that school desegregation and integration is only a concern relating to one minority group is false. With the nation's Hispanic and Asian populations increasing, the segregation of students from those groups is also a concern. Other problems occur when "white flight" and other population movements result in less integration. Meanwhile, the nation's schools continue to accept school integration as a positive strategy for helping all Americans gain firsthand awareness of learning and working together in the most racially, ethnically and culturally diverse country in the world.

This report, published by the National School Boards Association (NSBA) Council of Urban Boards of Education, which represents the largest urban school systems across the country, is the third report on school desegregation developed by the Council's School Desegregation Committee. The previous two publications were also written by Drs. Gary Orfield, Harvard University, and Franklin Monfort, University of Wisconsin. The first report, Racial Change and Desegregation in Large Districts -- Trends Through the 1986-87 School Year, was published in 1988 and highlighted the major trends affecting court-ordered desegregation up to 1987. The second report, The Status of School Desegregation 1968-1986, took a broader look at the issue and examined trends for African Americans and Hispanics as reflected in changes at the national, regional, state, and metropolitan area segregation levels.

This report takes a look at the past two decades and the impact of the growth of the Hispanic and Asian populations and how they are being affected by school segregation, desegregation and resegregation. When one looks at the data cited in this report, it is obvious that this issue remains a national issue of importance to us all.

The recommendations stated in this report are those of Drs. Orfield and Monfort and not necessarily endorsed by the Council or NSBA. However, we do propose that our legislators, judicial leaders, policymakers, and educators continue to research and discuss this issue as we continue to make our country a nation of liberty, justice and equality for all.



Ulysses V. Spiva  
Chairman  
Council of Urban Boards of Education  
March 1992



Henry Spears  
Chairman  
School Desegregation Committee

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

School segregation of Hispanics has increased dramatically during a period in which the nation's Hispanic enrollment has soared, increasing from less than a twentieth to more than a tenth of American students. Also segregation has grown slowly and steadily for blacks in those central cities that had been desegregated under policies that left their surrounding suburbs unchanged. In the few cities that have partially or completely returned to neighborhood schools, segregation has intensified, indicating what may happen on a much larger scale if the Supreme Court approves a general return to neighborhood schools. Minority families are now moving from cities to suburbs in large numbers but, nevertheless, segregation has increased rapidly in some of the nation's older suburbs.

The data clearly demonstrate that Hispanics are now significantly more segregated than blacks in the measures reported in this study, although, so far, they are considerably less likely to attend schools with 1 percent or fewer white students. In 1988-89, 10 percent more Hispanic than black students were in schools with less than half whites. Since 1970, the percent of whites in the school of the typical Hispanic student has fallen by 12 percent while the level has remained relatively stable for blacks.

In spite of increased segregation in some cities, the statistics for blacks across the U.S. showed that the widely expected increase of segregation during the Reagan years did not occur either on a national basis or in the South, where most blacks live. There were, of course, areas of increasing segregation, but they were balanced by areas of increasing integration. All of the Reagan Administration policies -- the attacks on the courts, the anti-integration policies in the Education Department, the Justice Department's legal motions to end enforcement of court orders, and the appointments of staunch conservatives to the federal courts -- all had no overall effect on the level of integration of southern black students by 1988. When President Reagan came to office, black students in the South were substantially more integrated than those in the rest of the country. His administration worked for a policy of dismantling the mandatory desegregation requirements in the region. It brought no new cases for mandatory desegregation, and it urged the courts to adopt less demanding requirements in old Justice Department cases, as well as to allow restoration of segregated neighborhood schools after a few years of desegregation. Data for the 1988-89 school year, however, shows that by some measures the level of segregation of southern blacks actually decreased slightly during the Reagan era.

These data do not reflect the impact of last year's Supreme Court decision in the Oklahoma City case, which outlines conditions for an end of court supervision of desegregation plans. Nor do they reflect the forthcoming decision in Pitts v. Freeman, a case from a large Atlanta suburban district. This movement in the federal courts, toward returning desegregation responsibilities to local school boards, may cause a large-scale

resegregation. There is little doubt that a long-sustained attack on desegregation policies could eventually combine with the forces of demographic change to produce seriously increased segregation for blacks.

Until now, desegregation plans have been surprisingly durable. Although the 1980s brought large political changes, it was a period of relatively few changes in desegregation orders and plans. Few major new orders were handed down in 1980's. There was a legal standoff as civil rights groups fought to defend existing court orders.

Meanwhile, a modest increase in the nation's residential desegregation, driven by a large increase in black and Hispanic suburbanization, helped offset the resegregation caused by the continuing decline of white residents in central city school systems.

Twenty years of data on the seventeen states that enforced mandatory segregation until 1954 show that the school desegregation accomplishments of the 1960s and the early 1970s were neither fragile nor transient. Polls show that not only did desegregation plans remain in place in most of the country, but that public support for busing, an intensely unpopular policy when it began in the early 1970s, grew significantly during the Reagan years. The Harris Survey, the American Council on Education's Annual College Freshman Survey, the National Opinion Research Corporation's General Social Survey, a new national Boston Globe Survey, and a recent survey of metropolitan Louisville by the Louisville Courier-Journal all show very substantial support for desegregation and growing acceptance of busing.

The Harris Surveys show particularly high rates of approval among parents whose children were bussed. In 1989, nearly two-thirds of the white and black parents whose children were bussed to integrated schools told the Harris Survey that their experience had been "very satisfactory." (Harris 1989). In metropolitan Louisville, blacks favored maintaining mandatory desegregation by a 70-24 percent margin. Most whites disagreed on mandatory plans, but 85 percent said that integrated schools were better than segregated ones on (Courier-Journal, October 27, 1991).

These trends show that minority families have not abandoned their desire for desegregation, in spite of frustration over local conditions, and that the country is not convinced that separate schools are equal. The Boston Globe's national survey reported that when asked whether they would support busing if it was the only way to integrate schools, whites said yes by a 48-41 percent majority, blacks agreed 76-21 percent, and Hispanics favored the policy, 82-18 percent (Boston Globe, January 5, 1992). The very strong political leadership against integration policies apparently has had less effect on public attitudes than does the actual experience of students and families in integrated schools. There is a very widely shared public preference for integration, even though disagreements remain about the means by which the goal should be pursued.

The statistics show that segregation increased in the late 1980's by some measures for black students in the Northeast and Midwest and for Hispanic students in the West and

Midwest. City by city statistics show a clear pattern of gradual increase in segregation in many big cities. During the 20 years covered by the study, the center of intense segregation for blacks shifted from the South to the big cities of the North. Hispanics living in the great urban centers of the West and Midwest became far more isolated than they were a generation ago. There are no policies now under consideration that would reverse these trends.

Both the federal school data and the 1990 Census showed a pattern of declining proportions of white students in central cities. Although this trend has often been blamed on school desegregation orders, and can be accelerated by certain kinds of orders, the declines in white enrollment occurred in cities without desegregation orders, in cities with no mandatory busing, and even in cities which abandoned desegregation orders in hopes of regaining white students. White enrollment dropped dramatically even in many virtually all-white suburbs. Many areas have seen a dramatic decrease in numbers of white children, and a shrinking share of those white children are growing up in the central cities and the older suburbs. Hispanic and Asian immigration now account for a substantial share of the nation's population growth and Hispanics are locating very disproportionately in some of the nation's largest urban centers.

It is true, however, that different forms of desegregation plans have quite different effects on not only the level and persistence of desegregation but also on the ability of a school district to retain white enrollment. The data presented here show that county-wide desegregation plans that include both city and suburban schools are more effective on both fronts. They also suggest that the experiments in St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Kansas City deserve careful attention if the goals of stabilizing the percentage of white enrollment while providing some increase in integration and major educational choices, are seen as important.

The huge changes in minority suburbanization and the growing racial diversity produced by immigration and differential birth rates suggest the need for much greater attention to issues of suburban desegregation and racial change, as well as the question of multi-ethnic desegregation in cities and states where whites and several large minority communities share the same school district. A new definition of desegregation will probably be needed, particularly in states and cities where there are now several different minority groups. There is no evidence that the problems of segregation will go away if left alone. They are likely to grow if there is a policy vacuum and they will surely change in important dimensions as the society itself changes.

## INTRODUCTION

There are two strong and diverging trends in the desegregation of American schools: Hispanics are becoming more isolated, and black integration has remained virtually unchanged since the early 1970s.

For both groups, it is apparent that achieving lasting and substantial desegregation within the overwhelmingly minority central city districts is an exercise in futility. The population of low income minority children concentrated there account for much of the severe segregation remaining in America. By 1986, the 25 largest central city districts had 27 percent of the nation's black students and 30 percent of the Hispanic, but only 3 percent of the whites. Those figures are likely to continue to diverge, resulting in steadily increasing isolation and inequality in the future.

There is, however, now a very large minority migration to suburbia underway. This opens both new possibilities of racial integration and new risks of extending large new patterns of segregation across major sectors of suburbia. It also leaves behind increasingly concentrated low income minority communities within central city school districts.

Hispanics are becoming steadily more segregated, particularly in the great centers of settlement for our largest Hispanic population, Mexican Americans. In a number of communities the isolation is as extreme as it is for blacks; nationally, it is even more severe by most measures of segregation. Patterns of virtually total isolation are emerging for a growing number of Hispanics, though Hispanics clearly do not prefer segregation. A 1992 national survey shows that Hispanics favor integration, even if busing is necessary, by a four to one margin (Boston Globe, January 5, 1992).

Research has shown a direct relationship between segregation, economic isolation, low school achievement levels, and high dropout rates. Hispanic dropout rates are far above the black rates (Espinosa and Ochoa, 1986; Arias, 1986; Valencia, 1991).

Segregated Hispanic schools are unequal and Hispanic families strongly prefer integration.

## STATUS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE NEXT GENERATION

### The Growing Segregation of Hispanics

There is a very dramatic contrast between the segregation trends affecting blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. since the 1960s. Blacks remain significantly less segregated than they were before the civil rights movement, with the most dramatic contrasts in the historic heart of black segregation, the Old South. Hispanics, on the other hand, have experienced a gradual and continuing increase in segregation, which has come in two basic areas of Mexican-American settlement, the West and the Midwest. The changes in the West (with by far the highest proportion of Hispanic students) are particularly sweeping. In the West, blacks were far more segregated than Hispanics in 1970, Hispanics were more isolated by 1988. The average Hispanic student living in the Western states attended a well-integrated school with 53 percent whites in 1970 but attended a two-thirds minority school 18 years later. Western Hispanic students were significantly more segregated from whites than were Southern black students in 1988-89. The striking consistency of these trends suggests that the isolation will continue to intensify.

Throughout the period studied, by far the most severe segregation for Hispanic students existed in the Northeast where Hispanic students have generally attended schools with three-fourths minority enrollment. In the Northeast, not only were more Hispanic students in segregated schools but a substantial share were in schools with virtually no white students. During the 1988-89 school year, 20 percent of the region's Hispanic students attended schools with one percent or fewer whites (see Appendix A).

### Regional Identification for Tables

<b>South</b>	Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia
<b>Border</b>	Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
<b>Northeast</b>	Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
<b>Midwest</b>	Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Ohio, Wisconsin
<b>West</b>	Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming

South and Border states had state laws requiring segregated schools until 1954.

**TABLE 1****Percentage of Hispanic Students in  
Predominantly Minority Schools**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Change</u>
South	75.2	80.2	+5.0
Northeast	78.2	79.7	+1.5
Midwest	54.3	52.3	-2.0
West	69.9	71.3	+1.4

**TABLE 2****Percentage of White Students in School  
Attended by Typical Hispanic Student,  
By Region**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>'86-'88 Change</u>
South	28.7	27.5	-1.2
Border	60.3	59.0	-1.3
Northeast	26.3	25.7	-0.6
Midwest	46.7	48.7	+2.0
West	35.6	34.4	-1.2

**TABLE 3****Percentage of Hispanic Students  
in 90-100 Percent Minority Schools**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Change</u>
South	38.6	37.9	-0.7
Northeast	46.4	44.2	-2.2
Midwest	23.5	24.9	+1.4
West	24.7	27.5	+2.8



The largest Hispanic population in the Northeast is Puerto Rican. Puerto Ricans fare the worst among the major Hispanic groups on many measures of education, employment, residential segregation, income, and other factors, and, on average, do far less well than blacks, in terms of high school completion rates (Bean and Tienda, 1987).

The fundamental problem leading to segregation for Puerto Ricans is their heavy concentration in the schools of New York City and a few other older school districts in the region. The fact that segregation has not risen significantly in this region in the past two decades is probably explained both by its very high level at the outset and by the increasing migration of Puerto Ricans and other, more recent, Hispanic settlers to the suburbs and to smaller cities, where the isolation is less extreme.

**TABLE 4**  
**Percentage of White Students in the**  
**School of the Average Hispanic Student, 1970-1988,**  
**U.S. and Regions**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Change</u>
South	33.4	29.5	27.5	- 5.9
Border	80.2	66.4	59.0	-21.2
Northeast	27.5	27.0	25.7	- 1.8
Midwest	63.6	51.9	48.7	-14.9
West	53.2	39.8	34.4	-18.8
U.S. Total	43.8	35.5	32.0	-11.8

In the states with large Hispanic enrollments, there was a clear pattern of gradually increasing segregation. It was apparent in the states where Mexican Americans were concentrated, in those where the Puerto Rican population was centered, and in Florida, home of the greatest concentration of Cuban Americans. Particularly striking were the rapid increases in isolation in California, by far the most important state for Hispanic students. Hispanics in California in 1988 were in schools with fewer non-Hispanic whites than were black students in Alabama or Mississippi. In the Midwest, the metropolitan Chicago region is the dominant center of Hispanic settlement and has seen change the consolidation of educational separation in the past two decades.

TABLE 5

**Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Hispanic Student, by State  
in States with at Least 5 Percent Hispanic Students**

<u>State</u>	<u>Percent Hispanic Enrollment</u>	<u>Percent of White Students in the School of a Typical Hispanic Student</u>			
		<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1980-1988</u>
New Mexico	43.9	32.6	32.3	38.7	+6.1
Texas	35.1	27.7	26.9	24.9	-2.8
California	30.3	35.9	31.6	28.1	-7.8
Florida	12.6	35.3	34.4	32.8	-2.5
New Jersey	11.9	29.6	29.5	28.3	-1.3
Connecticut	10.6	37.9	34.3	31.2	-6.7
Nevada	8.7	75.3	70.4	74.8	-0.5
Wyoming	6.4	82.8	81.3	80.1	-2.7
Washington	5.7	NA	55.5	NA	NA
Massachusetts	5.0	52.6	47.5	54.2	+1.6

Table excludes data from states with inadequate samples.

Demographic trends are probably the dominant force in increasing segregation. Given that the Hispanic school age population is expanding much more rapidly than white or black enrollments, because of the higher birth rates, and continuing immigration, Hispanic children would be in contact with more Hispanics and fewer whites even if there were total integration. The U.S. is gradually becoming less white and more Hispanic overall. During 1989, the most recent year for which complete statistics are available, 29.8 percent of the children born in the U.S. were black or Hispanic. The number of Hispanics born was four-fifths the number of blacks born (National Center for Health Statistics, Monthly Vital Statistics Report, December 12, 1991). Given the immigration patterns of the U.S., those children entering school in the middle 1990s will have an Hispanic enrollment even closer in size to black enrollment. Not many years later, if the trends continue, there will be more Hispanic than black students in the early grades of school.

The trends of increasing Hispanic segregation, however, have run substantially faster than those of demographic change. They are also present in a number of states with only small minorities of Hispanic students. Educational opportunity for Hispanic students is being deeply affected by their very high concentration in central parts of metropolitan areas, by residential segregation in the areas where migration has been concentrated, and by the failure of this largely Catholic community to obtain the large-scale access to Catholic education that was available for earlier big-city immigrants of Catholic



immigrants. Hispanic children are overwhelmingly concentrated in public schools even in central cities where a very large fraction of the remaining white students attend parochial schools.

Hispanic students are much more concentrated in a very small number of states than are blacks. Fifty-seven percent of Hispanic students in 1988-89 went to school in California or Texas. Texas had always been a highly segregated state for Mexican Americans (Grebler, Moore, and Guzman), and California has been going through a striking demographic transformation and increase of segregation. Many of the early legal struggles against overt practices of discrimination and segregation for Hispanics took place in Texas.

Since the 1970s both California and Texas have seen major moves to consolidate school segregation since the 1970s. In Houston, the largest city in the South, the Reagan Administration in 1981 dropped a Justice Department lawsuit seeking city-suburban integration. California voters amended the state constitution through referendum to resegregate Los Angeles, a change that was upheld by the California and U.S. Supreme Courts. In Texas, the cities of Austin, Dallas, and Ft. Worth have partially dismantled their desegregation plans and returned to neighborhood elementary schools. Apart from the San Jose court order, neither state has seen any substantial effort to deal with problems of segregation for Latinos since 1980. That order had local effects but was far too small to affect the California state data. Apart from the Denver court order in 1973, there is virtually no evidence of policies that were significant enough to break the drift toward greater segregation in the South and West. Denver is considering a return to neighborhood schools.

### **Patterns of Black Segregation**

There has been no significant progress on the integration of black students in U.S. schools since 1972. However, in striking contrast to public perceptions that desegregation plans were falling apart, there has been no significant regression either, even under the Reagan Administration. Recent surveys show an overwhelming desire among blacks for integration.

Since the last previous OCR data from 1986, there was very little change in segregation for blacks across the country by 1988. Only in the Midwest has segregation substantially worsened. Other regions have tended to hold their previous levels of integration. The South remains by far the most integrated region of the country for blacks, and the gap widened somewhat in the 1980s. Desegregation continues to be most successful and long-lasting where the enforcement has been strongest.

The national and regional statistics show no overall pattern of resegregation for blacks. Although trends in some of the state and local data suggest future resegregation, it had not occurred by the time President Reagan left office.

**TABLE 6**

**Percentage of Black Students in  
Predominantly Minority Schools by Region, 1986-1988**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1986-1988 Change</u>
South	58.0	56.5	-1.5
Border	59.3	59.6	+0.3
Northeast	72.8	77.3	+4.5
Midwest	69.8	70.1	+0.3
West	68.2	67.1	-1.1
U.S. Total	63.2	63.2	-0.1

**TABLE 7**

**Percentage of White Students in  
School Attended by Typical Black Student by Region, 1986-1988**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1986-1988 Change</u>
South	39.8	40.5	+0.7
Border	37.2	37.4	+0.2
Northeast	27.9	26.9	-1.0
Midwest	32.0	31.5	-0.5
West	35.5	35.7	+0.2
U.S. Total	36.0	36.2	+0.2

**TABLE 8****Percentage of Black Students in  
90-100 Percent Minority Schools by Region, 1986-1988**

<u>Region</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1986-1988 Change</u>
South	25.1	24.0	-1.1
Border	35.6	34.5	-1.1
Northeast	49.8	48.0	-1.8
Midwest	38.5	41.8	+3.3
West	28.3	28.6	+0.3
U.S. Total	32.5	32.1	-0.4

**State Level Changes in Concentration of Black Students in Predominantly Black Schools**

Among the states for which valid data were available, most showed a small decline in the percentage of black students in majority white schools. The three states showing the largest decline were Florida, Maryland, and Connecticut. Florida has long been among the national leaders in school desegregation among states with a large black enrollment. Even after a very significant decline, it remains more integrated on this measure than most of the large states. The probable cause of this decrease is the failure to update the county-wide desegregation plans that are now 20 years old to keep pace with the demographic changes in urban communities that have experienced two decades of massive growth. Maryland's statistics have doubtless been influenced by sweeping racial changes in the Washington D.C. suburb of Prince George's County, one of the most rapidly changing large school districts in the U.S. In Connecticut, the spread of residential segregation and the increase of minority enrollment are likely to be the basic forces at work.

The largest positive changes took place in Indiana and Virginia. In Indiana, the driving force may have been the implementation of a city-suburban desegregation plan in its largest metropolitan area, Indianapolis. The Virginia results are less clear. They may reflect the increasing black populations in the relatively more integrated sectors of the Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C. and Richmond.

TABLE 9

**Percentage of Black Students in Schools More than 50 Percent White by State,  
by Declining Enrollment, and Change in Concentration in  
Predominantly Minority Schools**

<u>State</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Percent of Black Students</u> <u>in Predominantly White Schools</u>			<u>Change</u>
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1980-1988</u>
Georgia	33.7	39.9	40.7	42.5	+2.6
Texas	13.2	36.0	36.7	32.1	-3.9
Florida	24.9	60.4	54.9	47.3	-13.1
California	8.2	24.7	23.4	21.3	-3.4
Louisiana	44.9	34.2	38.4	35.8	+1.6
Virginia	32.9	42.3	50.5	53.8	+11.5
Alabama	32.8	44.3	36.2	42.1	-2.2
Michigan	13.6	18.1	23.3	15.4	-2.7
Maryland	36.2	32.8	27.7	23.9	-8.9
New Jersey	15.3	23.3	27.2	20.4	-2.9
Missouri	16.5	36.4	39.0	36.4	0.0
Indiana	11.1	38.1	53.2	49.7	+11.6
Arkansas	21.4	42.1	46.2	38.0	-4.1
Oklahoma	10.2	65.1	59.2	62.8	-2.3
Massachusetts	6.5	44.0	41.5	41.7	-2.3
Connecticut	13.3	42.1	39.8	34.1	-8.0
Kansas	11.4	71.0	68.0	65.8	-5.2
Washington	3.4	76.4	70.4	70.6	-5.8

States where there appear to be serious sampling problems in the projected state data are omitted from the table.

Calculation of the exposure index for the states with a significant black population and reasonably adequate data in the federal survey, showed the same pattern. Florida and Connecticut showed the largest declines in integration during the 1980s, while Indiana showed the largest increase in the proportion of white students in the school of the typical black student.

**TABLE 10**

**Percentage of White Students in School of a Typical Black Student  
by State, in States of at Least 5 Percent Black Students**

<u>State</u>	<u>Black Enrollment</u>	<u>Percent of Black Students in Predominantly White Schools</u>			<u>Change 1980-1988</u>
		<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	
Louisiana	44.9	32.8	36.2	35.3	+2.5
Maryland	36.2	35.4	29.9	27.3	-8.1
Georgia	33.7	38.8	37.6	39.1	+0.3
Virginia	32.9	47.4	49.3	47.7	+0.3
Alabama	32.8	39.7	33.3	38.5	-1.2
Delaware	26.4	68.5	66.1	66.2	-2.3
Florida	24.9	50.6	47.2	41.9	-8.7
Arkansas	21.4	46.5	46.6	42.7	-3.8
Missouri	16.5	34.1	38.3	37.3	+3.2
New Jersey	15.3	26.4	27.6	29.9	+3.5
Michigan	13.6	22.5	25.2	18.8	-3.7
Connecticut	13.3	40.3	37.5	33.2	-7.1
Texas	13.2	35.2	36.4	32.8	-2.4
Indiana	11.1	38.7	47.0	45.6	+6.9
Oklahoma	10.2	57.6	51.4	55.0	-2.6
California	8.2	27.7	29.5	27.2	-0.5
Massachusetts	6.5	50.4	46.3	47.5	-2.9
Nevada	6.5	68.4	65.7	66.5	-1.9

Table excludes states with evidence of serious errors in projecting total state enrollment.

### **The Data and the Study**

This study is the third carried out for the Council of Urban Boards of Education of the National School Boards Association by Gary Orfield and Franklin Monfort. Monfort carried out the computations from the 1988-89 data tape supplied by the U.S. Department of Education at the Center for Demography at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Further analysis of the data and interpretation of the results were prepared by Gary Orfield, with the assistance of Anita Stoll and Rafael Heller, at Harvard University. Additional data, not prepared for this report, was supplied to the Boston Globe for its series, "America's Schools: The New Segregation." Parts of that data are included in Appendix A.

This study, and all other large-scale studies of segregation trends, must rely primarily on the Education Department's massive survey, conducted every other year, in tens of thousands of American schools. The data tape for this survey of more than 40,000 schools became available in November 1991, more than 3 years after districts submitted the statistics. Since the Federal Government began to require submission of such statistics in the late 1960s, the federal report forms and data tapes have been the only source for large comparative studies. This data plays a crucial role in enabling Americans to assess racial trends in their public schools and to analyze the effectiveness of various policies.

This data for 1988-1989 has serious limitations. Using the Education Department's statistical weights to project statewide student data showed serious sampling errors in a number of states, making it necessary to eliminate them from reports of state levels of segregation and changes in segregation. The Office for Civil Rights is not now collecting some of the data that is becoming essential for school officials and civil rights agencies and courts as civil rights policy increasingly shifts from Washington to the state and local levels.

The delays in processing and releasing this data have become so lengthy that they diminish the usefulness of information collected at such great cost to school districts. During the 1960s and early 1970s the government would release annual reports on the changes in patterns of segregation and the progress that had been made in enforcing the civil rights laws. That pattern was suspended after the Nixon Administration launched its anti-busing campaign. The government resumed release of data in the Carter period, when there were releases by both the Civil Rights Commission and the education officials. During the later years of the Nixon Administration, the Ford Administration, the Reagan Administration, and the Bush Administrations, there have been no reports of desegregation trends published by the Federal Government.

The release of desegregation statistics for 1974, 1980, 1984, 1986, and these 1988 statistics were all done outside the Department of Education. They were released through a U.S. Senate Committee, a House Committee, the Joint Center for Political Studies, and the National School Boards Association.

After the data were made available, serious deficiencies became apparent. This year, for example, those problems make it very difficult to discuss trends in a number of key states where the weighted sample of schools does not project to a state-wide enrollment total within 20 percent of the total reported by the Education Department's Digest of Educational Statistics. Some variation is understandable given problems of sampling and collection of data at different times for different purposes. Even in most of the states with poor samples, the measures were generally highly consistent with trends observed in earlier years. States where the sample projections diverge more than 20 percent are excluded from the state tables. Unfortunately, they include some of the nation's largest states and largest minority populations. These problems make it impossible for

educators, community leaders, and policy makers in some states to know whether they are becoming more or less segregated, to accurately compare their progress with other states, or to assess other important data on the tape, such as the racial equity of discipline and programs for the handicapped and gifted.

The Federal Government has not carried out a full survey of the racial composition of American schools and classes since 1976. Its samples have been inadequate and changing, its data collection and preparation increasingly delayed and flawed, and its dissemination of information to the public virtually nonexistent. Reportedly, the sampling problems will be even more severe in the 1990 data, which may make analysis of state trends completely impossible. At a time when many states are under court orders or are trying to develop or enforce their own civil rights policies, this is an extremely costly mistake.

Even before these changes, there has been inadequate information to measure segregation and desegregation in many metropolitan areas. The surveys tend to give include districts with large minority populations but not traditionally white districts. This often makes it impossible to look at urban areas as a whole, particularly in the highly fragmented metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest. This policy becomes steadily less defensible as minority suburbanization intensifies. It would be considered absurd if we could not assess progress and problems of employment or health or crime in states and urban complexes. There is a similar need for regular information on race relations and educational equity. The country deserves high quality data and valid samples of state and metropolitan level enrollments made available within a few months of the time of collection.

Fortunately, these statistical problems do not occur at the district level, and in most states the samples appear to be adequate. Most of our research goals were attained. This report, however, contains fewer comparisons, particularly at the state level, than were possible in the past. Future reports may have none.

### **Development of Desegregation Policy**

It is natural to assume that sweeping political changes have dramatic effects on social policy. These statistics, covering twenty years, make it possible to measure that assumption. Clearly, the civil rights laws and court decisions of the 1960s and early 1970s did transform southern education. By its second term, the Nixon Administration brought desegregation progress to a standstill. However, the triumph of the conservative movement in the 1980s had almost no impact, as yet observed, on the desegregation of blacks by 1988-1989. If there is to be an impact, in terms of major resegregation of blacks, it will be a delayed one, operating through the courts in the 1990s. A critical pending Supreme Court case may play a major role in deciding that outcome.



As late as mid-1963, at the peak of the civil rights movement, the public schools of the 11 southern states remained almost totally segregated. Ninety-nine percent of southern blacks were in all black schools in the spring of 1963. Serious enforcement of school desegregation by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government began in 1965 and lasted only 4 years, until mid-1969. The Supreme Court provided strong leadership on desegregation for 4 more years, in a series of sweeping decisions from 1969 to 1973. Those decisions launched busing as a remedy, extended desegregation requirements from the South to northern cities, established the rights of Hispanic children to desegregated schools, and said that no more delays were permissible.

Serious pressure for additional desegregation from any branch of government ended in 1974 when the Supreme Court, in its 5-4 decision in Milliken v. Bradley, erected serious barriers to city-suburban desegregation plans. In this Detroit metropolitan case, the court placed suburban schools out of reach of the great majority of segregated non-white students, ensuring their isolation in the central cities and a handful of deteriorated older suburbs. There has been no progress in desegregation of black students in the U.S. since that time and that decision is the key reason why the North and West have remained much more segregated than the South.

The few major exceptions to the Milliken barrier include cases where city-suburban desegregation was ordered because of special local legal circumstances. They account for some of the only statewide gains since the early 1970s, particularly in Delaware, Kentucky, and Indiana.

The changes followed city-suburban busing orders in metropolitan Wilmington, Louisville, and Indianapolis. The national trends apparent in Table 11 show that very dramatic increases in integration took place between 1968 and 1972, but that very little added progress occurred by 1976. In the 12 years after that time, there was virtually no net progress for desegregation of blacks in majority white schools segregation in virtually all black schools did continue to decline.

TABLE 11

**Desegregation Trends for Black Students, 1968-1988**

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1988</u>
Percent of students in <b>majority white</b> schools	23.4	36.1	37.6	36.8
Percent of students in <b>90-100 percent minority</b> schools	64.3	38.7	35.9	32.1



The initial goal of the movement against segregated education was to force the 17 states which maintained legally mandated segregation before 1954 to adopt racial policies like those prevailing in the rest of the nation. By 1970, however, the plans had exceeded that goal and the southern schools had become the least segregated of any region. In some districts, including some of the largest metropolitan systems, the Supreme Court's 1971 Swann decision, which approved busing, led to levels of desegregation never before experienced in any large northern urban community with a substantial minority enrollment. The 1988-89 statistics show that the South remains the most integrated region, even though it has a far higher proportion of black students than the North and the West. The Northeast and Midwest have less than one-half as high a proportion of black students and the West has less than one-fourth.

**TABLE 12**  
**Levels of Desegregation by Region**  
**for Black Students, 1968-1988**

	<u>Percent of Blacks 1988</u>	<u>Percent in Majority White Schools</u>			
		<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1988</u>
South	26.3	19.1	45.1	42.9	43.5
Border	19.4	28.4	39.9	40.8	40.4
Midwest	11.0	22.7	29.7	30.5	29.9
Northeast	12.4	33.2	27.5	20.1	22.7
West	5.8	27.8	32.6	33.2	32.9

Other measures of segregation show even more dramatic regional differences. In the 1988-89 school year, 48 percent of blacks in the Northeast and 42 percent of those in the Midwest, but only 24 percent of black southerners, attended schools where 90-100 percent of the students were from minority groups. In other words, these regions that had less than half the southern proportion of black students had almost twice the South's level of intense segregation. Looking at an even higher level of racial isolation, schools with 0-1 percent whites, the Northeast and the Midwest segregation levels were almost three times those found in the states of the Old Confederacy (see Appendix A). The level of total separation that had been seen as the essence of the southern racial system is now much more characteristic of Illinois, Michigan, and New York than of any state in the Deep South.

There are several key differences between the South and the rest of the country that made the Supreme Court's 1974 decision against city-suburban desegregation in Detroit particularly critical. First, blacks in the South are much less concentrated in big cities.

Many small cities in the North and West have virtually no black residents. In the South there are significant black populations in cities of all sizes. The South has few huge city ghettos in the pattern familiar to Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. The earlier industrial centers, where the blacks of the Northeast and the Midwest are concentrated, have much more fragmented structures of local government and local schools than does the South.

Cities expanded later in the South, annexation was easier, and their boundaries are much less likely to be confined to pre-automobile dimensions, as are Boston, St. Louis, San Francisco, and many other older cities. Finally, county government has traditionally been much more important in the South and school systems are much more frequently organized on a county-wide basis, permitting much more desegregation within a single district.

There are several reasons, in other words, why desegregation went further in the South. First, it is the only region that ever faced serious desegregation pressure from the Executive Branch. Though that lasted only 4 years, the effect was immense. Second, it was the main target of the Civil Rights Movement. Third, it was much easier in the South, where there had been laws overtly requiring segregation of schools, to trigger judicial intervention. (It took 19 years after the Brown decision on southern segregation before the Supreme Court established any requirements for northern cities.) Fourth, the policies that the courts adopted, particularly the policy of the Detroit case, made it impossible to achieve full desegregation in a growing number of northern communities.

### **Political Change and Desegregation**

Five of the last six presidential elections were won by candidates promising restrictions on desegregation plans, and the other election went to a former southern governor, Jimmy Carter, whose position on the issue was ambivalent. The only positive legislation passed by Congress on school desegregation was the Emergency School Aid Act in 1972 and that law was repealed in 1981. All appointments to the Supreme Court during these two decades were made by conservative presidents who favored restrictions on school desegregation. The period ended with the Court under a Chief Justice, William Rehnquist, who had opposed the original Brown decision while serving as a clerk to a Supreme Court Justice in the early 1950s.

If school desegregation reflected the political cycle of the country, or if the courts took their cue from the presidents, desegregation should have peaked in the late 1960s and declined steadily since. It would not be surprising if the data showed a modest increase in integration under the Carter Administration and a rapid decline in the 1980s.

Many Americans believe that this has happened, that school desegregation is a policy that was tried and failed, and that the experience proved that nothing could be done about racial separation in the schools.

The actual data is strikingly different in most respects. It shows that the 17 states that long practiced legally mandated segregation were most profoundly affected by the desegregation policies. It shows that the gains in desegregation were overwhelmingly concentrated in the periods of the strongest political and legal support. It shows that progress ended following a key Supreme Court defeat for the Civil Rights Movement in 1974, a defeat directly related to judicial appointments. It does not show any significant impact of the Carter Administration. It shows, however, that the conservative movement of the 1980s was unable to roll back the desegregation that had already been achieved. Few would have predicted, that the Reagan years would have been a period of stable desegregation for black students. There was even a small decline in the proportion of black students in schools with a tenth or fewer whites.

**TABLE 13**

**Change in Desegregation for Black Students, Fall 1980 to Fall 1988  
(Percent of Black Students in 90-100 Percent Minority Schools)**

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Change during Reagan Administration</u>
South	23.0	24.0	+1.0
Border	37.0	34.5	-2.5
Northeast	48.7	48.0	- .7
Midwest	43.6	41.8	-2.6
West	33.2	28.6	-4.6
U.S. Total	33.2	32.1	-1.1

The study shows that desegregation for black students has generally been very durable once it has been achieved and that there may be social forces at work in some parts of the country, particularly in the housing markets, that are producing at least a temporary increase in school integration. It is equally clear, however, that the demographic trends in large central cities continue to move toward greater and greater isolation of the minority students who are unable to move to the suburbs.

None of the country's overwhelmingly minority school districts have been able to achieve full and lasting desegregation within their boundaries. Many of these districts have faced problems of overwhelming financial problems, which have made it increasingly difficult to offer a high quality instructional program to students who are increasingly isolated not only by race but also by income.

## **The Unforeseen Effects of the Attack on Desegregation Orders**

Although the political attacks on desegregation plans began in a successful search for Southern support with the 1968 "Southern strategy", the long effort produced no real change in the South by 1988. The great impacts of the conservative resistance came in very different arenas. The movement preserved the black-white segregation of the great metropolitan areas of the North and the West. It cut away federal dollars for educational improvements attached to desegregation plans when the desegregation assistance law was repealed in 1991. Even more importantly, it prevented any significant response to the segregation that accompanies the soaring Hispanic population growth in all parts of the U.S. This may prove to be one of the most consequential educational developments of the past quarter century.

The South not only remained the center of black enrollment and desegregation but it experienced a substantial net increase in black residents owing to their migration returning from other regions. Ever since 1975, more blacks have been moving to the South than have been leaving the region. During the 1985 to 1989 period, the net balance in favor of the South was 355,000 (Census Bureau data reported in New York Times, September 23, 1991). The improved racial climate growing out of school desegregation and other civil rights reforms is doubtless a cause of these trends. A black family moving from Michigan or New Jersey to Georgia or Tennessee is more likely now to see their child grow up in integrated schools than if they had remained in the North.

## **Demographic Change and Types of Desegregation Plans**

During the past decade and a half there has been a great deal of debate over white flight from the schools and the question of whether or not white enrollment can be regained or consolidated by abandoning desegregation. More than two decades of data suggest that the underlying demographic trends of declining white enrollment are present under virtually all kinds of plans and that no large district has found a way to reverse them. Those districts that explicitly abandoned desegregation to prevent white flight have not achieved that goal and some have experienced white exodus among the highest in the nation. Although plans may have varying impacts, clearly there are much larger forces than school desegregation plans at work. Future decisions about desegregation plans should not be expected to affect those underlying demographic forces.

The trend toward growing isolation in the big cities occurs in districts with varying forms of desegregation, including city-wide mandatory busing, magnet schools, voluntary transfers, a partial return to neighborhood schools, or no significant plan at all. The trend is different only in those areas with county-wide mandatory plans which can include city and suburban schools in one district, or where the courts ordered city-suburban desegregation on a large scale. New types of plans in St. Louis and Kansas City hold some promise of greater stability.

Black students in areas with city-suburban desegregation experience a level of integration several times higher than those in plans limited to a large city with a shrinking white enrollment. None of the major centers of Hispanic settlement have implemented such plans, but they would likely have similar effects. Also, those plans are most likely to retain a high proportion of white enrollment over many years.

### **Dismantling Desegregation Plans**

Though there had been many efforts to dismantle desegregation plans by the 1988-89 school year, only a relatively small number of districts had undertaken such efforts, and most of those were limited to the elementary grades. These dismantling efforts produced striking increases in segregation in particular schools, but they had relatively modest impacts on desegregation at the district level. However, far-reaching proposals return entire districts to neighborhood schools are under discussion in many parts of the nation. The Supreme Court's forthcoming decision in Freeman v. Pitts may well make clear the authority of local districts to implement such plans. Previous dismantling efforts have been put off for a time by policies permitting students to finish in their current schools, by voluntary transfer policies, and by efforts to set up new magnet schools for voluntary desegregation. In some cases, the dismantling takes place after many schools have already been resegregated through demographic change. This kind of dismantling is much more a recognition of something that has already occurred than it is an attack on existing plans.

It would be very different if districts were to dismantle viable desegregation plans after receiving assurance that they no longer have a responsibility to maintain such plans. If the courts indeed revoke that legal responsibility, resegregation on a massive scale will likely follow.

### **The Consequences of Different Desegregation Plans**

Since Professor James Coleman published a 1975 paper asserting that school desegregation caused white flight from public schools, there has been an intense research and policy debate concerning the proposition that mandatory desegregation plans are futile in their nature, since whites simply leave the public schools in response. Often, districts with desegregation plans compare their current and past white enrollments, attributing the difference to "white flight." There is no doubt, as is evident in Table 14, that there have been very large declines in the percent of white enrollment in many school districts with desegregation plans since the late 1960s.

When analyzing "white flight", however, it is important to keep in mind that the national decline in white public school enrollment, from 80 to 70 percent between 1968 and 1998, occurred without any growth in the proportion of students attending private schools, and with an increase in minority private school enrollment. The proportion of U.S. students in private schools actually fell slightly in the 1980's.

Even if no whites left a school district, the typical school system could be expected to have significantly more minority students and about an eighth less white students because of differential birthrates and migration patterns. This natural decline, whose rate varies in different sections of the U.S., has nothing to do with "white flight" and should be subtracted from the estimates of the impacts of desegregation plans. Some of the declines in white enrollment reported in the table, particularly for mandatory city-suburban desegregation plans, are not much in excess of this underlying rate of national demographic change.

Many of the numbers, however, are considerably higher. Much has been made, for example, of a decline of Boston's proportion of white enrollment by about two-thirds, often cited as proof of the futility of desegregation orders. It is important to note, however, that this was the largest central city decline among the sixty largest school districts. The table shows that although all central cities with mandatory desegregation plans had substantial real declines in white enrollment, the rate of decline varied greatly.

For those who argue, however, that voluntary magnet school approaches would be more successful in holding white students, the table raises some very difficult questions. Why did the share of white students drop by more than two-thirds in Chicago, which had no plan until the late 1970s and even then, adopted a magnet and voluntary transfer approach that avoided mandatory busing? The Chicago plan, which left hundreds of schools totally segregated, was often cited as a model approach by Reagan's Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, Bradford Reynolds. Why did the share of whites in Milwaukee, which implemented a huge voluntary magnet program drop so dramatically? If whites were really leaving because of "forced busing," they should have stayed put in these cities that avoided mandatory reassignments.

Even more perplexing, looking further down in the table, why did Atlanta's proportion of whites fall more than four-fifths, continuing its decline even after a political bargain dropped the demand for busing in the early 1970s? Why did most of Atlanta's blacks live in the suburbs by the late 1980s? Why was the white decline much sharper there and in Atlanta's largest suburban district, DeKalb, after both decided a generation ago to do nothing more about desegregation? Clearly, the Chicago, Atlanta, and DeKalb data show, it is possible to maintain neighborhood schools and voluntary transfers and still experience rapid declines in white enrollment.

Examining a list of districts cannot resolve the issue of the possible added influence of the implementation of a new desegregation plan, but it does show that none of the large urban districts have maintained the same share of whites, regardless of the type of desegregation plan they chose, even if they chose to do nothing or to protect white students from mandatory busing in the hope of retaining white enrollment.



These trends, it is important to remember, do not affect only central cities. There are major declines in white enrollment and increases in the proportion of minority students in many suburban rings as well. Although metropolitan Chicago, for example, leads the nation in residential and school segregation and has blocked almost all efforts to desegregate on any scale, there was actually a much greater decline in the number of suburban white students in the 1978-1988 period than there of students in the city. The city had a decline of 56,000 white students, which was often attributed to "white flight", but the suburbs had a decline of 161,000. (Illinois State Board of Education data.) Enrollment in the Chicago Catholic schools, the nation's largest parochial system, also declined substantially and the proportion of minority students rose. In metropolitan Los Angeles, most attention has focused on the vast Los Angeles Unified School District, the nation's second largest. However, the transformation of the metropolitan area outside the city is equally interesting. In 1967, the Los Angeles suburban ring, reaching out to Orange, San Bernardino, and Riverside Counties was 84 percent white. By 1986 there were 37 percent minority students and the number was rising rapidly. (California State Department of Education data.)

TABLE 14

**Desegregation Achieved and White Decline in Various  
Urban Desegregation Plans, 1967-1988**

	Whites in School of Typical Black 1988	Blacks in 90-100 Percent Minority School 1988	Change in Percent White Enrollment		
			1967	1988	Change
<b>Mandatory Busing Within City</b>					
Columbus	47.9	0.0	67	51	-22
Dayton	34.4	0.0	64	37	-27
Cleveland	21.7	4.4	43	23	-20
Minneapolis	51.8	0.4	89	55	-34
Denver	34.9	0.0	66	35	-31
Boston	20.4	24.4	73	24	-49
<b>All or Part of Plan Dismantled</b>					
Los Angeles	11.0	69.9	55	16	-39
Dallas	11.3	64.4	63	19	-44
Norfolk	31.6	20.6	66	38	-28
Oklahoma City	33.7	18.3	79	46	-33
Austin	32.3	20.1	81	45	-36
Washington, D.C.	1.5	95.5	8	3	-5
<b>Cities with Magnet Plans</b>					
Kansas City	19.6	44.0	55	26	-29
Milwaukee	29.9	22.9	73	34	-39
Cincinnati	29.1	20.1	58	38	-20
Philadelphia	11.6	73.2	40	24	-16
Chicago	4.8	84.7	41	12	-29



TABLE 14 (cont'd)

**Desegregation Achieved and White Decline in Various  
Urban Desegregation Plans, 1967-1988**

	<u>Whites in School of Typical Black 1988</u>	<u>Blacks in 90-100 Percent Minority School 1988</u>	<u>Change in Percent White Enrollment</u>		
			<u>1967</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Change</u>
<b>Mandatory Busing and Magnets in City Plus Voluntary Suburban</b>					
St. Louis	14.8	61.4	37	21	-16
<b>No Plan, Neighborhood Schools</b>					
New York	9.8	75.0	48	21	-27
Atlanta	3.9	91.9	41	7	-34
Baltimore	9.4	70.0	36	18	-18
DeKalb	23.4	48.4	95	54	-41
<b>Mandatory City-Suburban Plan</b>					
Indianapolis	46.7	0.0	68	50	-18
Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale)	36.1	26.5	74	61	-13
Hillsborough County (Tampa)		58.5	0.6	80	67-13
Clark County (Las Vegas)	64.4	0.0	84	72	-12
Nashville	52.3	1.0	76	60	-16
Duval County (Jacksonville)	44.1	13.8	72	60	-12
<b>Courts Rejected City-Suburban Desegregation</b>					
Detroit	6.0	82.4	41	9	-32
Houston	10.1	70.3	54	16	-38
Richmond	9.5	59.0	34	11	-23
Atlanta	3.9	91.9	41	7	-23

Classifying district desegregation plans is very difficult because, although the great majority of plans in the early 1970s were simple mandatory student reassignment plans, almost all of the plans since 1980 have included some elements of choice and educational reform as an integral part of the desegregation strategy, and many have relied heavily or even exclusively on such approaches. In addition, many districts have changed their plans over time. Richmond had a busing plan, for example, at an earlier point, and Atlanta had a limited plan. Few cities were desegregated before 1976, Chicago went through most of this period with no plan, St. Louis had a voluntary plan before adopting its current compound plan. Many mandatory reassignment districts have added magnet schools and other elements of choice to their plans over time. Table 15 is a simplification of very complex history.

### **New 1980s Plans**

Although most desegregation plans were not seriously revised during the eighties, some new desegregation plans for large cities were adopted and they varied greatly in their nature and assumptions. Given the limitations of the Supreme Court's Milliken decision, all but one operated without any mandatory suburban involvement. That one, in Indianapolis, greatly reduced white resistance by busing children only out from the central city to the suburbs and not requiring any suburbanites to transfer into the city. It produced a very large decline in segregation. The other plan to involve significant interdistrict desegregation was in St. Louis, where the suburbs resolved a lawsuit by agreeing to accept enough voluntary black transfers from the city to bring the suburban St. Louis county districts up to about one-fourth black. At the other extreme from the Indianapolis and St. Louis plans were those that tried to prevent white flight by returning elementary students to segregated neighborhood schools. Norfolk, Oklahoma City, and Dallas were leaders in this movement.

A number of communities experimented with the "controlled choice" strategy which originated in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and requires parents to choose and rank several schools they would like their children to attend. Most parents get their first or second choice and desegregation is accomplished with relatively little mandatory reassignment. San Jose was the largest system to adopt this plan. Chicago adopted a limited magnet school plan which left untouched the great majority of neighborhood schools and required no mandatory student reassignment. Kansas City obtained hundreds of millions of dollars from a federal court order which called for major physical and program renovation and a vast system of magnet schools to try to increase integration and improve education.

The advocates of dismantling desegregation plans claim that mandatory assignments are the chief reason for white enrollment decline, and they predict a major return of whites to public schools when busing is ended. Such predictions were frequently made in Los Angeles, for example, before it became the first large city to totally dismantle its mandatory plan in 1981. Dr. David Armor, one of the experts often testifying on the white flight issue, was actually elected to the Los Angeles school board. Table 15 shows, however, that the proportion of white students in Los Angeles declined by a third in the 1980s. Chicago,

which had the most limited form of desegregation plan approved as a city-wide plan in any big city, experienced a similar loss of white students. The districts that dismantled their elementary desegregation also experienced additional declines in the proportion of white students, although Norfolk's decline was very small. In each, a group of intensely segregated black schools with severe educational problems emerged.

The extremely costly and elaborate magnet plans offered in Kansas City and sustained by the Supreme Court doubtless slowed the rate of white enrollment decline. The most stable plans, however, were usually those which involved the suburbs: the St. Louis voluntary transfer plan and the Indianapolis mandatory transfer plan. The goal of desegregation plans, however, is not retention of white students at all costs; it is desegregation. But these data suggest that even if white flight is a basic concern, it might be much better served by developing a complex desegregation plan rather than simply by ending busing.

TABLE 15

## Selected New 1980s Plans and White Enrollment

	<u>Percent White</u>		<u>Change</u>
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>	
<b>Termination of all Mandatory Desegregation</b>			
Los Angeles	24	16	-8
<b>New Mandatory City Plan, Magnets, and Voluntary City-Suburban</b>			
St. Louis	21	21	0
<b>Largest City Upgrading and Magnet Plan</b>			
Kansas City	28	26	-2
<b>Controlled Choice Plan</b>			
San Jose	64	46	-18
<b>Partial Return to Neighborhood Schools</b>			
Norfolk	39	38	-1
Oklahoma City	55	46	-9
Dallas	30	19	-11
<b>Mandatory City-Suburban (one-way busing)</b>			
Indianapolis	49	50	+1
<b>Magnet and Neighborhood School Plan</b>			
Chicago	19	12	-6

Plans were implemented at various points in the 1980s and a detailed analysis of their effects would have to take into account the dates of initiation and major subsequent changes. Change in white percent is an imperfect measure, particularly in areas such as Los Angeles experiencing a huge Hispanic enrollment increase.

## Separation of the Blacks and Whites within School Districts

The original goal of many advocates of school desegregation was to end racial separation between blacks and whites within school districts. One model for desegregation plans was that of reassigning students so that each school would reflect the racial composition of the entire school district. If the entire district's population were distributed randomly by race across all the schools, it would be hard to argue that the district was segregated.

One of the most frequently used statistics on desegregation measures the randomness of population distribution among schools. The dissimilarity (or Taeuber) index is zero when all schools within the area enroll students of different populations in equal proportion to their overall representation in the district; the index is 100 if each school is totally segregated and has only blacks or whites, for example. This index has been computed for major school districts since 1967 and is updated to 1988 by this study. The data reported in Table 16 shows that most of the large districts have made significant progress in lowering their levels of segregation by this measure. The average decline in the index for the eighteen districts in the table was 25 points.

Only two of the districts, New York City, which never had a significant desegregation plan, and Washington, D.C., which (in the 1970s) abandoned the busing requirements of the 1967 Hobson v. Hansen order saw substantial increases in segregation on this measure. There were very small changes from very high levels of segregation in two other districts, Chicago and Philadelphia, which relied on modest magnet school systems for their limited desegregation efforts.

The largest declines in the segregation level came in two systems that implemented huge county-wide desegregation plans (metropolitan Tampa and metropolitan St. Petersburg) and Milwaukee, which implemented a large magnet school system under a court order as well as a plan for voluntary transfer of several thousand black students to the suburbs. In Dallas, the dissimilarity index fell 30 points over the 21 years, but there was very little change in the exposure of black students to whites. The average black student in Dallas attended was in a school with 6 percent whites in 1968 and a school with 11 percent whites 20 years later, after the city partially dismantled its desegregation plan. Both were levels of intense segregation and black students never had substantial contact with young whites growing up in the metro region.

**TABLE 16****Largest U.S. School Districts Change Within District Segregation of Blacks from Whites,  
Measured by Taeuber Index, 1967-1988**

(0=racial balance, 100=complete segregation)

<u>District</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1967-1988 Change</u>
New York	62.2	69.5	73.3	73.9	+11.7
Los Angeles	91.3	83.4	69.8	68.8	-22.5
Chicago	89.5	92.0	78.3	81.5	-8.0
Dade County (Miami)	86.7	63.6	63.6	62.9	-23.8
Houston	92.5	79.3	66.1	64.3	-28.2
Philadelphia	74.8	81.3	73.0	72.8	-2.0
Detroit	74.7	74.9	63.1	62.8	-11.9
Dallas	93.1	77.6	64.9	62.4	-30.7
Broward County, FL	86.7	33.6	54.5	56.1	-30.6
Baltimore	82.3	75.8	66.0	68.7	-13.6
Hillsborough County (Tampa)	83.7	20.9	28.4	31.0	-52.7
Memphis	95.0	51.1	66.1	69.3	-25.7
San Diego	79.7	61.0	42.1	44.2	-35.5
Duval County (Jacksonville)	91.8	36.7	42.9	43.0	-48.8
Milwaukee	85.9	78.5	28.4	29.2	-56.7
Pinellas County (St. Petersburg)	83.8	26.2	N/A	27.9	-55.9
Palm Beach County, FL	82.2	34.5	56.8	55.9	-26.3
Washington, D.C.	75.1	84.2	90.6	86.2	+11.1

Efforts by city school districts reflected by the progress on the dissimilarity index, however, had limited effect on the racial isolation of black students in many of these districts. The Houston school district, for example, had a 28 point decline in segregation according to the index, but the 1988 statistics show that more than 70 percent of black students were still in schools that had a tenth or less whites. When Martin Luther King led huge demonstrations for Chicago school desegregation in 1965, 89 percent of the city's black students attended schools where a tenth or less of the students were white. Twenty-three years later, in 1988-89 the proportion was 85 percent. Black students were better integrated with a rapidly shrinking groups of white students. Segregation never declined significantly, although the Taeuber measure dropped by 8 points.

The following table shows that the problem of intra-district segregation in 1988 was somewhat less extreme for Hispanics than for blacks in most cases. It also shows that there are extremely wide regional differences. Clearly, the predominantly Cuban Hispanic population in Miami and the adjoining counties of Broward and Palm Beach is far less segregated from whites than the black population in that region, even though each of those counties has a court order to desegregate black students. The very low levels of isolation of Hispanics in the Miami suburban areas suggests that this community has the potential of achieving significant integration without a great deal of state intervention, at least at the higher income levels. That could, of course, change as the proportion of Hispanic population grows in those counties. In those areas where the Hispanic population is predominantly Puerto Rican, New York, and Philadelphia, the separation from whites is very high and virtually identical to the black levels. In Los Angeles and San Diego the black and Hispanic segregation levels are close together. The very large gap in Chicago reflects the extreme nature of the black segregation in the city. Even though the Hispanic index is similar to that in other cities with large, primarily Mexican American Latino communities, it is far below the city's level for blacks.

**TABLE 17**

**Largest U.S. School Districts Within District Segregation of Hispanics from Whites  
Measured by Taeuber Index**

(0=racial balance within district, 100=complete segregation)

<u>District</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Difference from Black Level</u>
New York	70.2	-3.7
Los Angeles	65.8	-3.0
Chicago	54.5	-27.0
Dade County (Miami)	52.1	-10.8
Houston	56.8	-7.5
Philadelphia	70.2	-2.6
Dallas	54.8	-7.6
Broward County, FL	30.2	-25.9
San Diego	41.4	-2.8
Palm Beach County, FL	38.8	-17.1

Although the Taeuber index indicates significant distribution of the students across racial and ethnic lines within a number of urban districts, blacks and Hispanics often had contact with few whites. The real problem of segregation was not among the students and schools within the big city district but between the city and suburban districts. In a school system like Chicago's or Atlanta's or St. Louis' where there are four or more minority students for every white student, it is simply not possible for all black students to experience substantial integration within the district's boundaries. In the name of integration, a racial balance model would put an Atlanta black student, for example, in a school that was more than nine-tenths black, but neither blacks nor whites perceive such a school as integrated. That is why the county-wide districts, with their much higher proportion of white students were not only able to show increases on the measured by dissimilarity but also on actual levels of contact between blacks and whites. In the county-wide Tampa and St. Petersburg area systems, for example, the proportion of whites in the school of the typical black student soared by 37 percent during the 1970s.

### **The Decline in Total Segregation**

In 1968, there were 3.3 million black students, or 53 percent of the nation's total black school enrollment, attending schools that were 99-100 percent minority. The number fell dramatically by 1970, to 1.9 million, or 28 percent, and it continued to fall gradually to 1.5 million, or 22.2 percent in 1978. The data for 1988 shows another slight drop to 19.3 percent, or 1.2 million students.

In 1968, 74.9 percent of the black students in the South remained in such fully segregated schools, but that number plummeted to a low of 12.8 percent a decade later. No other region experienced a large drop in extreme segregation. The Midwest, for instance, had 40.7 percent of its black students in such schools in 1968 and 39.1 percent a decade later. The region went from half the southern level of total segregation to almost twice its level.

### **Suburban School Systems: Racial Change and Segregation**

The 1990 Census reported that the United States was fundamentally a suburban society. To consider race relations only a central city problem then makes no more sense than discussing contemporary retailing without looking at the shopping malls that have eclipsed the old downtowns. There has been a vast transformation of the U.S. population distribution since school desegregation policies and plans were first formulated, including a very rapid growth in numbers of minority residents outside central cities.

The 1990 Census showed that the proportion of blacks living in metropolitan areas had risen from 74 percent in 1970, to 84 percent in 1990. Within those areas, 21 percent of the black residents had lived in the suburbs in 1970, but the number was up to 33 percent in



1990. There were 3.6 million black suburbanites in 1970 but 8.2 million twenty years later. In the late 1980s, nearly three-fourths of the black population growth in the United States took place in the suburbs (O'Hare, Pollard, Mann, and Kent, 1991: 8-9). Changes in school enrollment were often even more dramatic, because the families that moved tended to be relatively young families with school age children.

American society has changed in ways that make earlier concepts of suburbs obsolete and that have brought many historically "urban" problems into the suburbs, but there has been little serious debate over the social implications of those changes or of policies to deal with their negative aspects. In many American metropolitan areas, there no longer is a strong economic focus on downtown and there may be more people commuting out to work in the suburbs than coming in during the morning rush. Downtown may be one of a number of regional shopping centers; in the worst cases it is irrelevant.

For purposes of school desegregation and for minority education in general the basic problem is that the one function that is not decentralized is the provision of housing and public services for the poor and for a very large sector of the black and Latino communities. Residential segregation remains high, particularly in larger urban communities. Suburban zoning, land use, and subsidized housing policies continue to exclude poor and working class people. Blacks and Hispanics are almost ten times as likely as whites to attend schools in the biggest central cities. When they leave the central city, as millions have, they are very likely to end up in older and declining sectors of suburbia where they often face increasing residential and educational segregation.

By 1990, it was apparent that suburbs were becoming increasingly multi-racial with school segregation problems often more rapidly than in the central city school system. Suburban counties of Atlanta and Washington, D.C., for example, have been among the nation's most rapidly changing large school districts. Prince George's County, Maryland increased from 13 percent black in 1967 to 64 percent black in 1988, while DeKalb County, Georgia changed from 5 percent black to 54 percent during the same period. Both of these huge suburban systems had been magnets for a vast migration of blacks from the central city, and both enrolled large numbers of students in segregated schools in the late 1980 (see Table 18). Some older "suburbs," such as Camden, New Jersey, Compton, California, and East St. Louis, Illinois were actually declining industrial communities inside an expanding suburban ring and were experiencing much more severe segregation and economic devastation than the central cities they adjoined. In each, virtually all of the black students attended schools with less than one-tenth white students.

Hispanic numbers have increased even more rapidly than blacks in many suburban rings, since Hispanics generally face less rigid housing segregation.

**TABLE 18**

**Blacks in Selected Large Suburban Districts, 1988-1989  
by Percent Minority of Schools They Attend**

<u>District</u>	<u>Percent Black</u>	<u>Percent Minority of Schools Attended</u>		
		<u>0-50% Minority</u>	<u>50-90% Minority</u>	<u>90-100% Minority</u>
Pulaski County (Little Rock)	26	76.7	23.3	0.0
Compton Unified (Los Angeles)	51	0.0	0.0	100.0
Riverside Unified (Los Angeles)	10	71.0	30.0	0.0
Broward County (Miami)	29	36.0	37.5	26.5
Palm Beach County (Miami)	26	40.5	27.9	31.6
Clayton County (Atlanta)	22	64.7	27.1	82.0
Cobb County (Atlanta)	08	94.2	5.8	00.0
Dekalb County (Atlanta)	54	18.5	33.1	48.4
Fulton County (Atlanta)	41	18.5	17.8	63.7
Gwinnett County (Atlanta)	4	100.0	0.0	0.0
Schaumburg SD #54 (Chicago)	3	100.0	0.0	0.0
Shawnee Mission (Kansas City)	3	100.0	0.0	0.0
Jefferson Parish (New Orleans)	36	44.0	54.5	1.6
Baltimore County (Baltimore)	17	55.9	36.0	8.1
Howard County (D.C.-Baltimore)	14	100.0	0.0	0.0
Montgomery County (D.C.)	16	67.0	30.8	2.2
Prince Georges County (D.C.)	64	8.8	72.7	18.5
Hazelwood School (St. Louis)	26	69.4	19.9	10.7
North Kansas City (Kansas City)	2	100.0	0.0	0.0
Parkway School (St. Louis)	18	100.0	0.0	0.0
Camden City (Philadelphia)	60	0.0	1.7	97.9
Jersey City (New York)	44	0.2	20.0	79.8
Arlington (Dallas)	10	85.1	14.9	0.0
Richardson (Dallas)	13	75.4	24.6	0.0
Chesterfield County (Richmond)	13	95.0	5.0	0.0
Fairfax County (D.C.)	9	86.1	13.9	0.0
Henrico County (Richmond)	26	41.6	49.9	8.5
Virginia Beach (Norfolk)	16	92.7	7.3	0.0

The data on the enrollment and segregation patterns of some large suburban districts demonstrates the complexity of contemporary suburban areas. The proportion of black students and their levels of segregation shows extreme variation. As this decade unfolds, many suburbs will confront challenges and racial changes that are unprecedented in their histories. The experiences of the central cities and some of the older suburban communities show that none of these challenges solve themselves.

Without local leadership and clear policies for managing and respecting diversity and maintaining integration, suburbs face a very real possibility of resegregation. Since they are usually much smaller than central city districts, the changes can happen much more rapidly. Suburban school systems without policies for dealing successfully with racial change will face serious risk of recapitulating the central city experience.

**TABLE 19**

**Segregation of Hispanics in  
Selected Large Suburban Districts, 1988-1989**

<u>District</u>	<u>Percent Hispanic</u>	<u>Percent Minority of Schools Attended</u>		
		<u>0-50 Percent Minority</u>	<u>50-90% Minority</u>	<u>90-100% Minority</u>
Mesa Unified, AZ	9.8	100.0	0.0	0.0
Garden Grove Unified, CA	29.4	19.9	71.3	8.8
Montebello Unified, CA	84.8	0.0	7.6	92.4
Mt. Diablo Unified, CA	8.1	97.2	2.8	0.0
Norwalk La Mirada, CA	51.8	14.2	70.9	14.8
Ontario-Montclair, CA	48.0	13.3	81.4	5.3
Pomona Unified SD, CA	53.9	2.7	49.5	47.8
Riverside Unified, CA	25.6	76.4	23.6	0.0
San Bernardino City, CA	34.8	18.4	81.6	0.0
Santa Ana Unified, CA	78.2	0.1	22.4	77.5
Ventura Unified, CA	20.1	100.0	0.0	0.0
Vista Unified SD, CA	24.3	74.1	25.9	0.0
Aurora, CO	5.7	91.4	8.6	0.0
Broward County, FL	7.5	75.5	20.7	3.8
Elgin, IL	14.0	73.3	18.9	7.7
Camden City, NJ	35.0	0.4	3.6	96.1
Jersey City, NJ	33.7	3.5	49.2	47.3
Aldine, TX	28.3	11.9	88.1	0.0
Arlington, TX	7.4	82.4	17.6	0.0
Richardson, TX	4.9	70.8	29.2	0.0
Spring Branch, TX	28.1	28.4	71.6	0.0

## Asian Segregation

Asian students tend to be far more integrated than blacks and Hispanics. The vast majority of Asians outside the West attend schools where most of the students are white, in striking contrast to the black and Hispanic record. There is some evidence, however, of increasing segregation in the West, where most Asians live. Hawaii is a special case, of course, a state with a 71 percent Asian enrollment, a small white minority, and only 2 percent of Asian students attending majority white schools. It is a predominantly Asian-American society where Asians dominate the major institutions, a society where the "mainstream" is Asian and the problem of integration has to be approached from a different perspective. In California, with by far the largest concentration of mainland Asian population, little more than one-third of the Asian students attend majority white schools, and one-sixth attend schools with a tenth or fewer whites. In California, in 1988, the typical Asian student was in a school that was two-fifths (39 percent) white, one-fourth Asian (26 percent), and one-fourth Hispanic (26 percent). The California statistics did show a surprising increase in the proportion of Asians and a drop in the proportion of whites in the school of the typical Asian student between 1984 and 1988. White representation fell 6 percent and Asians representation rose the same proportion. If Asians are defined as an educationally and economically advantaged population, as they are, on average, in contemporary California, it is clear that Asian students are enrolled largely in schools with a solid majority of students from the more advantaged groups. Hispanics, in contrast, are in schools that average almost two-thirds enrollment by Hispanics and blacks, groups often disadvantaged in California.

**TABLE 20**

**Concentration of Asian Students  
by Level of Segregation, 1988-1989**

	<u>Percent Majority White Schools</u>	<u>90-100 Percent Minority</u>
United States	53.0	11.1
Forty-eight and D.C.	57.6	09.9
South	70.6	04.2
Border	77.7	02.4
Northeast	61.0	11.6
Midwest	86.5	01.3
West	43.8	13.6
Alaska	96.6	0.1
California	35.4	16.2
Connecticut	77.7	07.2
Hawaii	2.0	24.2
Illinois	81.6	01.4
Massachusetts	68.1	01.4
New York	37.6	23.8

Asian students, of course, represent many different nationalities and cultures and a very wide spectrum of economic and social backgrounds. Immigrants from some countries arrive with extraordinary levels of education while others, particularly from rural Indochina, have arrived with very weak educational backgrounds and limited experience with urban settings. In devising strategies for desegregation and for multicultural education, it will be very important to take these factors into account.

**TABLE 21**  
**States and Large Cities with**  
**Highest Asian Enrollments, 1988-1989**

	<u>Asian Enrollment</u>	<u>90-100 Percent Minority</u>
United States	1,246,774	03.1
Forty-eight and D.C.	1,132,812	2.8
Alaska	5,901	4.3
California	477,180	11.0
Hawaii	108,095	70.8
Illinois	62,757	5.0
New Jersey	73,991	6.0
Anchorage, AK	2,210	5.4
Fresno City, CA	11,190	17.2
Long Beach, CA	13,418	20.0
Los Angeles, CA	49,537	8.2
Oakland, CA	8,923	17.5
Sacramento, CA	9,674	20.6
San Diego, CA	21,802	18.6
San Francisco, CA	30,454	46.7
San Jose, CA	3,688	12.5
Santa Ana, CA	3,812	09.5
Stockton, CA	8,689	27.6
Boston, MA	5,032	8.4
St. Paul, MN	4,896	15.1
Jersey City, NJ	2,483	8.9
New York City, NY	70,046	7.3
Fairfax County, VA	12,941	10.4
Seattle, WA	9,183	20.8
Tacoma, WA	2,967	10.0
Madison Metropolitan, WI	1,128	5.1

## **The Need for a New Definition of Desegregation**

Desegregation strategies were conceived in the 1950s and 1960s as a way for the black minority to obtain access to mainstream opportunities in predominantly white institutions. In 1973, in Keyes, the Denver desegregation case, the Supreme Court held that Hispanics have similar rights to desegregation. In much of the South, and in many other American communities, the old standard still makes a great deal of sense. Increasingly, however, it is being called into question by the changing nature of society. What should be the standard for measuring desegregation, for instance, in California? In the nation's largest state, by 1988, whites made up less than half of the public school enrollment, Hispanics more than three-tenths, Asians one-ninth of the total, and blacks only one-twelfth. The state's demographic trends indicate that the Hispanic and Asian proportions will continue to rise and the white share to decline.

If one judges the need for desegregation by reference to a history of discrimination, it is clear that Hispanics, blacks, Asians, and Native Americans all have a claim to a desegregation remedy in California. This policy has several severe limitations, however. First, it will make desegregation increasingly problematic over time. Second, it assumes that the only beneficial integration occurs between whites and other groups and that all benefit primarily through increased contact with whites only. This assumption makes no sense.

Perhaps there should be another criterion added to desegregation goals. Desegregation rights should be defined to be limited to minority groups that experienced historic discrimination and remain segregated and subject to inferior education today. This would mean that only blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians would be entitled to desegregation remedies and that the benefit of increasing their access to schools populated by Asians and higher status Hispanics from South America and elsewhere, as well as by whites, would be recognized.

At a time when blacks and Hispanics are inheriting control of many central cities and their institutions, the fact that these two groups are educated separately deserves attention. There is severe tension, stereotyping, and competition between blacks and Latinos in some cities. There are some cities where there are under enrolled black schools in close proximity to severely overcrowded Hispanic schools, presenting the same problems for Hispanic students that faced many urban black communities in the fifties and sixties, when the black urban migration was at its peak. In booming Sunbelt communities like Miami and Los Angeles, it is already clear that familiarity with Spanish language and culture can be an employment advantage for blacks as well as non-Hispanic whites. Policies that foster healthy communication within the racially mixed labor force and political system of the future could have real benefits. Although it seems unlikely that the courts will establish a right to such integration, local leaders may well wish to consider policies that would foster black-Hispanic contact where feasible.

Sorting out policies for the future of desegregation will not be easy, but the need to seriously discuss and analyze possible approaches is apparent. Unfortunately, there has been a research and policy vacuum during a generation of incredible change, leaving us short of goals and plans for equity in schools that are supposed to provide opportunity in a society far more diverse than any in our history.

School officials need to accept several very important facts as starting points in plans for the future. The schools in the cities will not go back to their old enrollment patterns, no matter what the neighborhood school system or the desegregation plan nor will change stop now. Second, the schools in the suburbs are going to become more and more diverse, racially and economically and they will need plans if they are to avoid the segregation and inequality which afflicts the central cities. Third, planning for the future of race relations will have to come to terms with the needs and aspirations of several minority communities, of which whites may become a minority.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

This report shows that school desegregation policies have lasting impacts and that they deserve renewed consideration and support. There is an urgent need for Hispanic leaders and national policy makers to examine the consequences of increasingly extreme segregation for access to education, college, and mainstream employment in the U.S. The report recommends the following policy changes:

- (1) A commitment by federal, state, and local officials to the goal of integrated and equitable schools serving stably integrated communities.
- (2) Enactment of a new federal program, modeled on the Emergency School Aid Act, to provide financial support for the costs of desegregation.
- (3) development of state board of education desegregation policies and assistance for districts considering changes in their programs.
- (4) Support by national educational organizations and foundations for districts studying the consequences of proposed changes in their desegregation plans.
- (5) Support by federal and state policy for offering choices to minority students in highly segregated schools to transfer to integrated schools in neighboring school districts, as has been done for a quarter century in some metropolitan area.
- (6) Large scale research and the creation of a major commission to study the causes, consequences, and alternatives to the increasing isolation of Hispanic students. California and Texas, which educate a substantial majority of the nation's Hispanic student, need state-wide studies as well.
- (7) Development of combined school and housing integration policies to produce lasting integration, rather than the creation of new suburban centers of segregation and racial and economic change. State and federal officials and organizations of suburban school districts and governments need to begin serious consideration of policies to support stable suburban integration, avoiding replication of the tragic history of central city ghetto expansion.
- (8) Major upgrading of federal racial statistics. A comprehensive survey of all United States school districts has not been carried out for 16 years. State and local policy makers need accurate state and metropolitan area data, as well as district level information. Data should be prepared for public release within one year of the date of collection and adequate resources should be provided to correct serious data errors. A new baseline survey of all United States schools should be conducted to measure clearly the vast racial changes of the past generation.

## APPENDIX A

### Trends in Segregation in Schools with 99-100 Percent Minority Students

#### Hispanic Students Attending 99-100 Percent Minority Schools

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>
U.S. Total	6.9	3.1	8.9	9.9
Northeast	13.6	16.0	18.4	19.6
South	11.0	6.1	9.5	7.9
Midwest	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.9
West	2.4	2.3	6.2	8.4
California	2.4	2.6	8.4	11.4

#### Black Students Attending 99-100 Percent Minority Schools

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>
U.S. Total	53.3	24.7	21.5	19.3
South	74.8	13.9	12.4	11.4
Northeast	22.6	27.8	31.5	31.9
Midwest	35.3	34.6	25.4	27.8
Border	46.0	36.8	27.2	25.0
West	26.6	23.8	22.2	17.3

Tables prepared for a special report by Boston Globe

## APPENDIX A (cont'd)

### Extreme Segregation, 1988-1989 in Schools with at Least the Following Percent of Non-white Students

	<u>95 Percent</u>	<u>97 Percent</u>	<u>99 Percent</u>
<u>Blacks</u>			
United States	27.5	24.6	19.3
South	19.5	16.3	11.4
Border	31.5	28.3	25.0
Northeast	42.6	40.2	31.9
Midwest	36.9	34.1	28.7
West			
<u>Hispanics</u>			
United States	23.6	18.3	9.9
South	26.4	19.0	7.9
Border	06.6	06.2	4.9
Northeast	36.2	31.7	19.6
Midwest	16.1	11.2	5.6
West	18.4	14.0	8.4

Tables prepared for a special report by Boston Globe

# about NSBA...

The National School Boards Association is the nationwide advocacy organization for public school governance. NSBA's mission is to foster excellence and equity in public elementary and secondary education in the United States through local school board leadership. NSBA achieves its mission by amplifying the influence of school boards across the country in all public forums relevant to federal and national education issues, by representing the school board perspective before federal government agencies and with national organizations that affect education, and by providing vital information and services to Federation Members and school boards throughout the nation.

NSBA advocates local school boards as the ultimate expression of the unique American institution of representative governance of public school districts. NSBA supports the capacity of each school board -- acting on behalf of and in close concert with the people of its community -- to envision the future of education in its community, to establish a structure and environment that allow all students to reach their maximum potential, to provide accountability for the people of its community on performance in the schools, and to serve as the key community advocate for children and youth and their public schools.

Founded in 1940, NSBA is a not-for-profit federation of 49 state associations of school boards and the school boards of Hawaii, the District of Columbia, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. NSBA represents the nation's 97,000 school board members. These board members govern 15,500 local school districts that serve more than 41 million public school students -- approximately 90 percent of all elementary and secondary school students in the nation. Virtually all school board members are elected; the remainder are appointed by elected officials.

NSBA policy is determined by a 150-member Delegate Assembly of local school board members from throughout the nation. The 24-member Board of Directors translates this policy into action. Programs and services are administered by the NSBA Executive Director, assisted by a professional staff. NSBA is located in metropolitan Washington, D.C.

## NSBA Programs and Services

- **National Affiliate Program** -- enables school boards to work with their state association and NSBA to identify and influence federal and national trends and issues affecting public school governance.
- **Council of Urban Boards of Education** -- serves the governance needs of urban school boards.
- **Large District Forum** -- serves the governance needs of large but non-urban boards.
- **Rural and Small District Forum** -- serves the governance needs of rural and small enrollment districts.
- **Federal Relations Network** -- school board members from each Congressional district actively participate in NSBA's federal and national advocacy efforts.
- **Federal Policy Coordinators Network** -- focuses on the administration of federally funded programs.
- **Award Winning Publications** -- *The American School Board Journal*, *The Executive Educator*, *School Board News*, and special substantive reports on public school governance throughout the year.
- **Institute for the Transfer of Technology to Education and Technology Leadership Network** -- advances public education through best uses of technology in the classroom and school district operations.
- **Council of School Attorneys** -- focuses on school law issues and services to school board attorneys.
- **Annual Convention and Exposition** -- the nation's largest policy and training conference for local education officials on national and federal issues affecting the public schools in the United States.
- **National Education Policy Network** -- provides the latest policy information nationwide and a framework for public governance through written policies.
- **Training/Development and Clearinghouse Information** -- for the policy leadership of state school boards associations and local school boards.



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**about the  
COUNCIL OF  
URBAN BOARDS  
OF EDUCATION**

The NSBA Council of Urban Boards of Education (CUBE) was established by the NSBA Board of Directors in 1967 to address the unique needs of school board members serving the largest cities in the United States.

Any school board that is a National Affiliate of NSBA and serves a community with a core-city population of at least 100,000 persons is eligible for membership in CUBE, as is any NSBA National Affiliate school boards that is a member of a state-level urban council in its respective state school board association. CUBE is governed by a 12 member steering committee of urban board members.

### **Purpose**

CUBE exists to enable school board members to gather information, develop recommendations, and take appropriate action to improve the quality and equality of education provided in densely populated cities inhabited by people of widely varying, diverse, and heterogeneous backgrounds.

### **Program**

Through its subcommittees and staff, CUBE uses conferences, workshops, specialized publications, *School Board News*, consulting services, telephone contacts and all of the resources of the NSBA National Affiliate program to improve the policymaking effectiveness of urban school board members. In cooperation with the NSBA Board of Directors, CUBE serves as vehicle for bringing the urban perspective before federal officials and members of Congress.

### **Steering Committees**

The CUBE Steering Committee, which meets quarterly, is composed of 12 urban school board members from across the United States, plus the Immediate Past Chairman. The President and the Executive Director of the National School Boards Association serve as ex officio members of the Committee.

Committee members are elected by the CUBE membership to three-year terms. The CUBE Chairman appoints a Nominating Committee to oversee the compilation of a slate of nominees from CUBE members in good standing. The Nominating Committee gives consideration to slating nominees so that a regional balance is maintained as well as to assure non-discrimination on the basis of sex, race, etc. The CUBE Chairman and Vice Chairman are elected by the Steering Committee.



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